

1: Krasheninnikov N-5

(1736-40) 1764

Kamchadal

669 For information on the Kamchadal's stratagems in rebellions against the Russians
see 726 or 177.72.

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726 may not dye unrevenge: this they call making a bed for them-
 722 selves. In the year 1740, a girl was brought from *Ukolok*
 whom the rebels in their hurry neglected to kill; the rest were
 all murdered, and the rebels threw themselves from the hill,
 upon which they were fortified, into the sea.

669 From the time that *Kamtshatka* was subdued, there have
 726 been only two rebellions which could be properly called so. The
 175 first happened in the year 1710, in *Bolscheretskoi Ostrog*; and
 the other in the year 1713, upon the river *Awatscha*. Both
 R. of them were, however, unfortunate for the authors. In the
 177 first, great numbers besieged the *Bolscheretskoi* fort, in which were
 72 only 70 Cossacks, 35 of whom making a sally put them all to
 flight, and in endeavouring to reach their boats which brought
 them thither, in the hurry such numbers were drowned that the
 river was almost choked up by their dead bodies. The rebels
 upon the *Awatscha* thought themselves so sure of destroying the
Russians that they brought thongs to bind them; however the
 rebels were either all killed or taken prisoners.

411 Their arms are bows and arrows, spears, and a coat of mail:
 their quivers are made of the wood of the larch-tree, glued
 round with birch-bark; their bow-strings of the blood vessels
 of the whale; and their arrows are commonly about four feet
 long, pointed with flint stones, or bone; and though they are but
 indifferent, yet they are very dangerous, being all poisoned, so
 that a person wounded by them generally dies in twenty-four
 hours, unless the poison be sucked out, which is the only re-
 medy known. Their spears are likewise pointed with flint or
 bone; and their coats of mail are made of mats, or of the skins
 of seals and sea horses, which they cut out into thongs, and
 plait together. They put them on upon the left side, and tie
 them with thongs upon the right; behind is fixed a high board
 to defend their head, and another before to guard the breast.

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In the summer of the year 1729, a *Japanese* vessel was wrecked upon the coast of *Kamtshatka*: there were seventeen men on board, all of whom, except two, were murdered by Lieutenant *Stimicof*, who happened to be there at that time. The two survivors were sent to *Petersbourg*, where they had the satisfaction of seeing the murderer of their countrymen publicly executed. In 1730 *John Novogorodof*, and in 1731 *Meyer Shedfordin*, were tax-gatherers in *Kamtshatka*. We only mention them as being the occasion of the great rebellion, which we are now to describe.

CHAP. IV.

175 Of the REBELLION of *Kamtshatka*, the Burning of
667 the Lower Fort, the Subjection of the Rebels, and their Pu-
R nishment.

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THE natives had resolved for a great while to destroy all the *Russians* who were in *Kamtshatka*; but since the discovery of the passage over the *Penschinska* sea, and the arrival of vessels with new people, it appeared to them too dangerous: but when Captain *Bering* with his fleet sailed on the expedition of *Kamtshatka*, and most of the *Cossacks* who were settled in *Kamtshatka* were ordered to join Captain *Paulutskoy* at *Anadir*, to suppress the rebellious *Tchukotskoi*, very few *Cossacks* were left in *Kamtshatka*. This the natives looked upon to be the wished-for opportunity; and during the whole winter the *Nischnasbaltalski*, *Klutchevski*, and *Yalofski Kamtschadales*, under pretence of visiting one another, travelled through all *Kamtshatka*, and instigated the other inhabitants to join in their designs,
under

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under pain of being intirely destroyed. By these means all *Kamtscbatka* entered into a state of open rebellion; and hearing that *Sbesticof* was killed by the *Tebukotfkoï*, they reported that these people were marching against *Kamtscbatka*, with a view either to have a pretence for collecting themselves together, or that the *Russian* Cossacks, out of fear of these people, might desire the *Kamtscbadales* to guard them. Their measures were so well concerted, that it was a singular instance of Providence that any of the *Russians* were preserved; for if they had once been driven intirely out of the country, it would have been difficult for them to have re-established themselves. The counsels of the *Kamtscbadales* were far from being such as one would expect from savages; they endeavoured to prevent any correspondence with *Anadirsk*, and kept a strong guard upon the sea-coasts, where they might seize upon any of the *Russians* that arrived. The chief authors of this rebellion were one *Yalofski Toyon*, or chieftain called *Fetka Harchin*, who had frequently served the *Russians* as an interpreter, and a chieftain of the *Klutchevski*, called *Chugotche*.

While this conspiracy was in agitation, the commissary *Skacurdin* was on his departure from *Kamtscbatka*, with a considerable party to guard the tribute. They had sailed from the mouth of the river *Kamtscbatka* towards *Anadir*, but soon after contrary winds obliged them to return. The *Kamtscbadales*, informed of their departure, and ready for the revolt, gathered together, and sailing up the river *Kamtscbatka* killed every *Russian* Cossack they could find, burned their summer huts, and carried off their wives and children into slavery. Their chief strengin was directed against the fort; where arriving in the night, they set fire to the priests house, concluding that the fire would bring out all the inhabitants. In this they succeeded too well, murdering almost every person, without sparing either sex or age. They burned all the houses, except the fortifications and church, where the goods both of the pub-

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175 lick and private people were kept. Those who escaped this mas-
 669 sacre fled to the mouth of the river, and carried the news to their
 R countrymen, who had not yet left the coast. When the *Klut-*
 177 *chefski* chief, *Cbugotche*, heard of the taking the lower *Kamt-*
 .17 *chatka* fort he marched thither, killing or taking prisoners all the
Russians he met with; and joining *Harchin*, he informed him
 that the *Russian* vessels were yet upon the coast, for which reason
 he judged it proper to strengthen themselves in the fort; and
 sending accounts of their success to all their countrymen, ordered
 them to join him. The next day they divided all the plunder,
 and dressed themselves in the *Russian* habits; and some of them,
 putting on the priest's robes, celebrated their own religious cere-
 monies and conjurations. *Harchin* ordered a new-baptised
Kamtshadale, who had learned to read *Russ*, to say mass in the
Russian manner, and dressed in the priest's robes; for which he
 made him a present of 30 red fox-skins.

The 3d day after the taking of the fort arrived a *Russian*
 skipper, *Yacob Hens*, with 60 Cossacks, who was sent with a
 design to recover the fort from the rebels. He endea-
 voured by all methods to persuade them to return to their
 duty, assuring them of a general pardon; but they would not
 give ear to him: nay, *Harchin*, their chief, told him that
 he had no business there, and that he was commissary of
Kamtchatka, and would himself gather the taxes, so that they
 did not want any Cossacks among them. Upon which *Hens*
 sent to his vessels for some cannon, and began on the 26th of
July to fire upon the fort, where he made a very large breach,
 which caused great confusion amongst the besieged, and gave an
 opportunity for the women that were prisoners to escape.
Harchin, finding it impossible to defend the fort, made
 his escape disguised in women's cloaths; and although he

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was pursued by several, yet he made such expedition that they could not overtake him. After this 30 of the besieged who remained surrendered themselves; but a *Klutchefski* chieftain, *Cbugotche*, with a few people that joined him, held out to the last man. During their defence the powder magazine was set on fire, which reduced the fort and all the riches in it to ashes. In this siege the Cossacks had four men killed, and a great many wounded. How many of the *Kamtschadales* were killed was not known, their bodies being consumed in the fire; not one escaped alive, for those who surrendered were killed by the Cossacks, in revenge for the loss of their wives and children.

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The sudden return of the *Russian* party was the occasion that this revolt was so easily quelled; for it prevented their assembling in such numbers, as they otherwise would have done. However, it was not yet intirely over, for *Harchin*, with some other chieftains, collected a good number of people together, and resolved to march to the sea side, and attack the *Russian* vessels which were there. But, in the very beginning of his march, he was met by a party of *Russians*, which obliged him to fortify himself upon the left side of the river *Klutchefska*; the Cossacks encamping upon the right, several skirmishes ensued between them. When *Harchin* saw that he could not accomplish his design, he proposed to treat with the Cossacks, and offered to come to their camp, if they would send one Cossack as an hostage for him; which they granted. He demanded, That they should not intirely ruin the *Kamtschadales*, and promised that for the future they would all live peaceably, only desiring that they would allow him to go and prevail upon his friends and relations to consent to this agreement; which being granted, he sent word, that he could not prevail with them to make peace; and that even his own brother, and a chieftain, *Javatche*, who had accompanied them, had refused to return.

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176 The next day *Harebin* came to the bank of the river with some
 669 other chiefs, and desired, that the *Cossacks* would send a
 R. boat to bring him over, and give him two *Cossacks* in hostage;
 177 which they agreed to: but no sooner was he come over
 177 than they made him prisoner, and ordered the hostages to
 throw themselves into the river, and swim over, while they
 fired upon the *Kamtshadales* on the opposite bank, who,
 when their chief was made prisoner, presently separated; but,
 being pursued by different parties, most of them were destroyed.
 The chieftain *Tegbil*, having defended himself a great while, at
 last murdered his wife and children, and killed himself;
 the chieftain *Chugotche*, in vain solliciting the inhabitants upon the
 river *Koferetsba Shapina* to join him, was in the end murdered by
 them. After this rebellion, which appeared at first very dan-
 gerous, and threatened the intire destruction of the *Cossacks*, was
 quieted by the arrival of succours, things continued in pretty
 good order at *Kamtshatka* until the year 1740, when the *Rus-*
sians had seven people killed by the natives.

When this rebellion was over, orders were sent as soon as pos-
 sible to Major *Merlin*, with another officer and some regulars,
 together with Major *Paulutskoy*, to inquire into the cause of this
 rebellion, and the murder of the *Japanese*, and to send the report
 thereof to *Jakutski*; he was at the same time to build a new fort,
 which he did a little lower than the mouth of the river *Ratuga*:
 this was called the lower fort of *Kamtshatka*. Having examined
 into the cause of the rebellion, three of the *Russians* were found
 guilty of death and executed; and two of the chief rebels, with
 some others, both *Cossacks* and *Kamtshadales*, were punished.
 All the natives, whom they had either taken prisoners, or had
 made slaves of, were restored to their liberty. Those *Kamtsh-*
chadales who were put to death, seemed to go to execution
 without the least concern, and under the torture they were
 scarcely heard to moan; nor could they force them to con-
 fess any thing more than what they had done self
 voluntarily before.

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St. Petersburg and were presented to the Empress Anna Ioanovna. In the same year they were baptized; Gonza was named Damian Pomortzev, and Soza, Kosma Shultz. They were charged to teach Japanese to the students of the Academy of Sciences. Neither lived long—Soza died in 1736 at the age of 43 and Gonza in 1739, being only 21.

Some years later (1745) other Japanese wrecked at Kamchatka's shore were brought to St. Petersburg for the same purpose, but the Japanese were simple fishers and hardly could be used as teachers.¹ Such wreckages of Japanese ships repeatedly took place about that time. The explorer Lesseps mentions nine Japanese whose ships were wrecked at the Aleutian Islands in 1788 and whom he brought to Kamchatka.²

THE UPRISING OF THE KAMCHADAL

THE CAUSES OF REVOLTS

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The causes of revolts of the Kamchadal were the cruelty, violence, greediness with reference to fur-skins, and the licentiousness of the Cossack chiefs and soldiers on the peninsula. On the other hand frequent mutinies of Cossacks against their chiefs and the incessant feuds between the chiefs and their parties could not inspire respect from the oppressed natives. Numerous local revolts had taken place from the very beginning of the occupation of the country by the Cossacks. Rebels and victors were equally merciless in their encounters. A general uprising of the Kamchadal which had been fomenting for a long time broke out in 1731. The Kamchadal were ready to rise before that date but did not dare to do so.

In 1729 Kamchatka was visited by the first scientific expedition of Bering and his companions who had armed crews. The ship *Gabriel*, with a crew of one hundred men belonging to the military expedition of the Cossack chief, Afanassy Shestakoff, remained in Nishne-Kamchatsk until July 1731. According to the original plan of Shestakoff's military expedition, the *Gabriel*, after leaving Okhotsk, was to visit Kamchatka and to proceed from there to the mouth of the Alutor River, where the commander of the expedition, Shestakoff, expected to arrive by land from the shore of the Okhotak Sea, in order to subdue the Alutor Koryak; from there it was intended that the ship should sail to the mouth of the Anadyr River, exploring the shores on the way, and continue up the river to the fortification at Anadyrak, which Shestakoff intended to reach by land. But Shestakoff's party was defeated and he himself killed by the Koryak after he had crossed the Paren River. When the news of Shestakoff's death arrived, the *Gabriel* remained in Kamchatka, awaiting further orders. In June 1731 she was ordered to proceed to the Anadyr and to enter the service of Pavlutsky, Shestakoff's lieutenant.

As soon as the *Gabriel* had weighed anchor and gained the open sea, the Kamchadal attacked the fortress Nishne-Kamchatsk and took possession of it. Presently a detachment was despatched to take Verkhne-Kamchatsk and Bol-

¹ W. W. Barthold, *Die geographische und historische Beschreibung des Ostens mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Russischen Asien*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 129.

² M. de Lesseps, *Travels in Kamchatka*, English Translation from French, vol. 2, London, p. 226.

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175 sheretsk, and everywhere the Russians were slain. It so happened, however, that the *Gabriel* unexpectedly returned on account of an impending storm, not being prepared for a sea-voyage; and besides the crew were not eager to go to Anadyr. The sudden return of the *Gabriel* saved the Russians of the Peninsula. With the assistance of the sailors, Verkhne-Kamchatsk and Bolsheretsk were successfully held; Nishne-Kamchatsk was recaptured and the revolt was suppressed.

When the news of the revolt and its suppression reached Yakutsk the Administration resolved to send a commission to Kamchatka to investigate the cause of the uprising and the revolts of the Cossacks against their chiefs. At the head of the commission were Majors Mekhlín and Pavlutsky, former lieutenants of Shestakoff. The investigation lasted from 1733 to 1739. Sentences of death were passed by the commissioners on several Kamchadal chiefs and other instigators of the uprising, as well as on Cossacks convicted of criminal actions. Among the Russians executed was the Cossack officer Stinnikov, who in 1729 ordered the killing of the Japanese and robbed their ship, which was carried by the winds to the southern shores of Kamchatka.

SOME MENTAL TRAITS OF THE OLD KAMCHADAL

157 The old Kamchadal were proud, independent, inclined to wrath; their passions were easily aroused; they took offense readily and tried to avenge themselves by any possible means. They had no fear of death and could not be frightened. 761 In order to demonstrate the psychology of the old Kamchadal some historical instances are cited of the relations between the Russians and Kamchadal before the final pacification of the latter.

651 In the winter of 1712 the Chief Antrýferoff with 25 Cossacks endeavored to collect tribute from the Avacha Kamchadal near where the fortress of Petropavlovsk was subsequently established. The Avacha Kamchadal were informed of the imminent arrival of the collectors. They built a solid blockhouse on posts with secretly lifting doors.¹ The Russians were met with simulated pleasure. 669 Amidst mutual professions of friendship the transactions began, the Kamchadal readily surrendering a number of their principal men as hostages for their good behavior. R. At night they retired with the Cossacks to the pile-dwelling for sleep. 177.65 But the natives planned to burn the building in the night and with it all the inmates. Their own men, however, were to escape through a secret passageway. But after the pile-dwelling was fired, they learned to their horror that their hostages had been chained by the Cossacks so that escape was impossible. The hostages, however, pleaded with their kinsmen outside to let the holocaust go on if, by perishing themselves, they could secure the destruction of the enemy, and so all in the building perished together.

669 Among the Kamchadal leaders of the revolt was the chief of Yelovka River, a tributary of the Kamchatka River, Tighil by name. When Nishne-Kamchatsk 761

¹ The old Kamchadal usually used such dwellings on platforms raised on piles as summer houses and now as store-houses.

669 was taken by the Russians, Tighil escaped to his fortified settlement in the mountains of Yelovka. Being pursued and overtaken by the Russians, he slaughtered his wives, children, kinsmen and dogs and killed himself.

761 One of the chiefs, sentenced to death as an instigator of the uprising, laughingly complained before the execution that he had the ill-luck to be hanged the last.

157 The present Kamchadal, however, have completely changed their psychology. They have a pitiful and humble appearance, and carry out each and every order of the Cossacks and the Russians in general. Evidently the process of Russianization, combined with two centuries of oppression by the Russian authorities, has brought about this change in the primitive character of the Kamchadal. This change, however, did not take place suddenly, but the tense energy of the people displayed in the general uprising was broken, never to recover. They became pacified.

THE YASSAK OR FUR TRIBUTE

651 The Kamchadal rebellions were chiefly caused by the extortionate demands made by the Cossacks and officials for furs and services for themselves. According to Krasheninnikoff¹ the Empress Elizabeth, after the general rebellion was crushed, issued an order limiting the yassak to one skin to a hunter of what ever animal he could bring; other historians of Siberia state it differently. The main factor attracting the Russians to Siberia in the early period of settlement was its wealth in furs. For one time furs were an important financial item in the budget of the Russian Empire; in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Treasury monopolized the fur trade. Czar Boris Godunoff decreed that the hunters and fur-traders deposit their merchandise in the Treasury for a fixed remuneration. The accumulated furs were placed in the care of a special department in Moscow, which disposed of them through its agents in Turkey, Persia, Bokhara and later in China. China in time became the largest and most profitable consumer of Siberian furs, for in exchange for its furs the Treasury would import from China gold and silver with which the Moscovite Empire paid for its wars. The China trade continued to be a Government monopoly until 1762. In that year Empress Catherine II abolished the official caravans to Peking, leaving the trade, which was still based chiefly on furs, in the hands of private merchants. The free fur trade had a stimulating effect on the development of commercial relations between Siberia, European Russia and the neighboring countries. The Treasury on the other hand no longer insisted that the tribute of Siberia be paid in furs exclusively. They were now free to pay their tribute in money, the amount being approximately estimated according to the value of the furs. Thus the field for official abuses was reduced, and the attitude of the natives toward the Russians began to improve.

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177-65 Attempts to subject the Kamchadal coincides with the period of the Government monopoly in furs, when fur tribute was the cause for which thousands of men were tortured and killed whenever they refused or were not able to satisfy the rapaciousness of the foreign invaders. The situation of the Kamchadal was

¹ Krasheninnikoff, part II, p. 387.

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The Itel'mens believed in evil mountain and forest spirits, the sea-spirit, Mitg, good protecting spirits, etc. Anthropomorphic images of the spirits were usually made of wood.

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The central figure of Itel'men mythology was the raven-creator, Kutkh. But he was not held in esteem, and various comical and obscene stories were told about him.

The bodies of dead adults were given to the dogs to eat; children were buried in hollow trees. The Itel'men shamans did not have any special clothing or tambourines.

In the middle of the 18th century, the Itel'mens were converted to Christianity, but they continued to cling to their animistic ideas.

Information about the abundance of fur on Kamchatka received from Luka Morozko and Atlasov attracted the attention of the tsarist government and the Yakutian governors.

A special official—a prikashchik—was appointed to collect taxes. The Kamchatka prikashchiks, who were virtually the full masters of the peninsula, often abused their power. In addition to the fur-tax, they exacted from the population great quantities of furs for their own enrichment. The predatory extermination of fur animals, and most of all, sable, sharply reduced the catch, and the Itel'mens were often unable to pay the tax in full. The arbitrary extortion of cured fish, "sweet grass" for wine-making, lily tubers, berries, cedar nuts, seal blubber, skins, and even sleds, boats and clothing, for the benefit of the tax collectors became systematic. In addition to all this, the natives suffered from exploitative trading and its consequences—debt slavery.

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The Itel'mens' struggle against extortions and oppression expressed itself at first in attacks on individual representatives of the tsarist government and raids on the tax treasury. Large uprisings broke out in 1706, 1711 and 1731.

The rebellion of 1731 involved nearly all the Itel'mens. After its suppression, a special "investigating office" was sent to the area to look into its causes. The leaders of the rebellion were executed. Some of the officials were also punished.

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The quelling of rebellions by armed force and the arbitrary rule of the local officials reduced the Itel'men population. But the principal reason for the population decline was the epidemics of smallpox, typhus and other diseases which devastated entire districts. The remnants of the various clans could no longer exist independently and united into larger territorial units. Thus, instead of the former clan villages, new settlements sprang up, inhabited by members of various clans. New villages were also created by compulsory resettlement. Thus, after the rebellion of 1731, the inhabitants of the village of Klyuchi were resettled in Kozyrevsk; the inhabitants of Nachiki were moved there from the western coast of the peninsula.

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The system of tax collection through the village elders and the development of barter with Russians resulted in the accumulation of private property in the hands of some individuals. As early as the 1730's, there were toyons (elders) who lent sables to their kinsmen to enable them to pay their tribute, in exchange for subsequent work.

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The economic condition of the Itel'mens did not improve in the latter half of the 18th century. This was due above all to the system of tax collection and the tyranny of the local authorities. Taxes were collected, not from the present population, but according to lists, which included men long dead. The living thus had to pay taxes for dead relatives. Extremely onerous, too, was the imposition of the duty to transport numerous officials, as well as cargo, without compensation all over the peninsula. This took the men away from their occupations and condemned them to frequent periods of famine.